

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 070602

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R 162043 Z APR 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T STATE 070602

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC NFO PRETORIA, USUN  
NEW YORK APRIL 4, 1973 FROM CAPE TOWN IS REPEATED TO YOU:  
QUOTE

S E C R E T CAPE TOWN 259

E. O.: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SF

SUBJ: SYG INITIATIVE: NAMIBIA

REF: USUN'S 1157

1. AMBASSADOR AND DCM TODAY CALLED ON SAG FONMIN MULLER AND FON SECRETARY FOURIE AND INFORMED THEM OF OUR DEEP CONCERN AT WHAT WE UNDERSTOOD TO BE PRESENT STATUS OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN UN AND SAG ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA (SWA). DRAWING HEAVILY ON VERY HELPFUL REFTEL, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WHILE WE NOT RPT NOT PRIVY TO SPECIFIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN SAG AND UN SECRETARIAT, WE HAD OVERRIDING IMPRESSION THAT TALKS WERE GOING BADLY. SINCE IT WAS IN OUR OWN INTEREST, AS WELL AS SAG'S, THAT DIALOGUE BE CONTINUED, AMBASSADOR INFORMED FON FMIN OF HIS CONSIDERED VIEW THAT, UNLESS SAG WAS SIGNIFICANTLY MORE FORTHCOMING DURING APRIL 9-14 TALKS IN GENEVA THAN WE UNDERSTOOD TO BE THE CASE SINCE ESCHER VISIT, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR EITHER SYG, USG, OR OTHER PARTIES TO ARGUE FOR CONTINUATION OF TALKS.

2. AFTER EXPLAINING WHY WE ATTACHED SO MUCH IMPORTANCE TO AVOIDING  
SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 070602

BREAKDOWN IN TALKS, I. E., RESULTING INTENSIFIED PRESSURE ON US TO TAKE HARD LINE ON SWA, RENEWED PRESSURES IN SC, DECREASE IN RECEPTIVITY BY OTHERS TO OUR URGING PATH OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS AND OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICA ISSUES, ETC., AMBASSADOR STRONGLY URGED MULLER TO FIND SOME MEANS OF SHOWING MORE CONCRETE PROGRESS WHICH WOULD PERMIT SYG TO JUSTIFY A RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE. AMBASSADOR ADDED HIS BELIEF THAT TO BE EFFECTIVE SUCH INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS SHOULD INCLUDE ( A ) CLARIFICATION OF WHAT SAG MEANS BY SELF-DETERMINATION; ( B ) CONVINCING AND SPECIFIC ASSURANCES THAT SAG WILL RESPECT INTEGRITY OF TERRITORY; ( C ) PROGRAM FOR ENHANCING ADVISORY COUNCIL ARRANGEMENT BY GRADUALLY INCREASING ITS FUNCTIONS AND POWERS; AND ( D ) SOME INDICATION OF PROGRESS SAG IS MAKING IN EXAMING POSSIBILITY OF REMOVING RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND SPEECH IN SWA. AMBASSADOR REITERATED HIS CONCERN THAT UNLESS PROGRESS ALONG THESE LINES CAN BE SHOWN, IT APPEARED EXTREMELY DOUBTFUL WHETHER A BREAKDOWN IN TALKS COULD BE AVOIDED, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE IN BEST INTERESTS OF US OR SA.

3. FONMIN THANKED AMBASSADOR FOR INFORMING HIM OF OUR VIEWS AND EXPRESSED PARTICULAR APPRECIATION FOR USG AWARENESS OF AND CONCERN OVER SWA SITUATION THAT HAD BEEN REFLECTED IN THIS AND OTHER CONVERSA

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TIONS ON SAME SUBJECT. HE STRESSED AGAIN ( AS HE HAD IN MARCH 21 CONVERSATION REPORTED CAPE TOWN 224) HOW DEVASTATING A BLOW CHACKO'S DEATH HAD BEEN TO SAG AND ATTRIBUTED " LACK OF UNDERSTANDING" IN UN ON WHAT SAG ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS WERE IN SWA IN SOME MEASURE TO NEWNESS OF STAVROPOULOS TO SPECIFICS OF PROBLEM. RE SELF-DETERMINATION, REFERENCE WAS MADE TO PRIMIN VORSTER' S EARLIER STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT TRUE SELF- DETERMINATION MUST BE PRECEDED BY SOME EXPERIENCE IN SELF- GOVERNMENT AND AN INDICATION OF GENUINE WISHES OF PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AS TO WHAT FORM THEY THEMSELVES WISHED SELF- DETERMINATION TO TAKE. AS PART OF THIS PROCESS, SAG ENVISAGED FREE ELECTIONS IN SWA -- IN AUGUST AND SETPEMBER IF ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE COMPLETED IN TIME -- WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE INHABITANTS TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES. THIS WOULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARD ELIMINATING PROBLEM SAG NOW FACED ON COMPOSITION ADVISORY COUNCIL RE WHO REALLY SPEAKS FOR WHOM AMONG INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF SWA. HE HOPED IN GENEVA TO SHOW THAT SAG WAS NOT SLAMMING DOOR ON " INTEGRITY OF TERRITORY" BUT THAT SAG WOULD INSIST THAT WHATEVER HAPPENS REFLECTS THE WISHES OF MAJORITY OF INHABITANTS -- NOT DESIRES OF A FEW.

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PAGE 03 STATE 070602

4. FONMIN THEN INDICATED THAT WITHOUT UNDERESTIMATING EITHER SERIOUSNESS OF SITUATION OR IMPORTANCE OF FORTHCOMING TALKS IN GENEVA, HE DID NOT RPT NOT THINK SITUATION WAS AS BAD AS WE HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE FROM REPORTS EMANATING FROM UN CIRCLES. AT SAME TIME HE OF COURSE REALIZED THAT DIFFICULTY OF CONVINCING UN OFFICIALS OF SUFFICIENT PROGRESS TO SATISFY MANY SAG CRITICS WOULD BE ENORMOUS.

5. COMMENT: FONSEC FOURIE TOOK THOROUGH NOTES DURING AMBASSADOR'S PRESENTATION AND LATER ASKED FOR REPEAT OR CLARIFICATION OF SEVERAL POINTS. BOTH MULLER AND FOURIE INDICATED BELIEF OUR APPROACH WAS HELPFUL AND THAT IT WOULD FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN THEIR MEETING WITH PRIMIN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING, DURING WHICH THEY EXPECTED TO RECEIVE THEIR FINAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR GENEVA TALKS. (FOURIE DEPARTS APRIL 6.) HOWEVER BADLY SAG WANTS TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH SYG, IT OF COURSE REMAINS PROBLEMATICAL WHETHER THEY CAN IN THE EVENT SHOW SUFFICIENT PROGRESS TO MAKE THAT POSSIBLE.  
HURD  
UNQUOTE ROGERS

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